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Ethnology of Pukapuka

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 124 The field work of which this monograph is a partial report was carried out on a Bishop Museum fellowship. For permission to visit Pukapuka we have to thank Judge Hugh F. Ayson, Resident Commissioner, Cook Islands. The resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Henry, and their family were continually generous and hospitable to us. We are especially indebted to them for acting as interpreters and for giving much time to what must often have seemed unrewarding labor. To Robert Dean Frisbie, who placed at our disposal his wide knowledge of fishing and astronomy, we also owe a debt of gratitude. We are under obligation to botanists of Bishop Museum staff for identification of plant specimens and to Mr. D'Alte Welch for shell identifications. Mr. Adrian Digby, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, London, very kindly forwarded to us a detailed description and photograph of Gill's "soul trap". In working up the material we have drawn freely on the knowledge and technical experience of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), to whom we owe our first introduction to the field of Polynesian ethnology.

114 121 Scientific work on Pukapuka has heretofore been limited to two brief accounts by Gill (10, 13)*, a paper by Hutchin (18), manuscript notes of a short visit to the atoll by Bryan (5), and a brief account by Macgregor (20) based on a three-day visit to the island in April 1933. The work of Gill and Hutchin is slight and of no great value. Bryan's notes gave us a preliminary orientation and Macgregor generously placed at our disposal before we left Honolulu a manuscript copy of his paper on Pukapuka. We were thus able to check Macgregor's material in the field, and have not considered it necessary to refer to his work on every occasion where his observations are at variance with ours.

121 128 In the field, Ernest Beaglehole was especially responsible for collecting material on social and economic organization, religion, traditional history, and material culture; Pearl Beaglehole for string figures, material on children, intimate aspects of family and domestic life, the household census, stories, and other textual material. The bulk of the manuscript was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

128 Certain records on which this study is based are filed in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum: lists of place names, names of land divisions, household lots and talo gardens, statistical records, native texts and notes.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 415.

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Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Pukapukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal informants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Eliu and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Eliu was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawani, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves, under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

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plemented by an analysis of texts. The texts themselves, of which only a few examples are given in this monograph, and the vocabulary have been checked and rechecked with informants and may be taken as representing with fair accuracy the Pukapukan dialect. Data on economic life and the material culture are reliable. The material on Pukapukan religion and its interrelations with other aspects of the culture, particularly with economic and social life, is definitely weak and represents a type of historical reconstruction based on informants' accounts supplemented by textual material. None of the informants were living during the days when Pukapukan religion actually functioned.

This study of Pukapukan culture is, in the main, a presentation of the more formal patterns of behavior which have been abstracted from the total culture by ourselves or our informants. It is likely that the contents of this monograph, if imputed to one or all of our informants, would in no sense be recognized by him as significant formulations of all his cultural experience. We believe he would recognize that the majority of the statements contained herein hold true in one sense or another for some aspect of his experience, and it is this belief and the fact that the formal patterns of Pukapukan society configurate fairly well with the patterns of other Polynesian communities that are the sole guarantee of the measure of truth in the generalizations presented.

The ideas and action patterns grouped together under the title of Pukapukan ethnology would have endlessly different meanings for the various informants. It is just these personal valuations, symbolisms, and implications which the cultural set-up of modern Pukapuka makes so difficult to annotate and which attest to the continued vitality of Pukapukan culture as a functional entity. Much of Pukapukan culture as here presented is the peculiar property of but few individuals in Pukapuka today. The imprint of informants' personalities is contained in all the information so freely imparted, but it is woven into the context of the information in a fashion that defies analysis, though it is none the less real. This is most striking in the realm of religion or in the chants. Full participation in the latter as a cultural value is probably limited to no more than a few individuals of the 600 odd Pukapukans living on the atoll today. The remainder have vague or ill-defined ideas about the meanings of obscure passages in the chants, though any vigorous-minded Pukapukan will, on challenge, make up immediate rationalizations to cover his own lack of authentic understanding. This in no way vitiates the value of these chants as an aid to the recapture of old-time customs. These customs and symbolisms are preserved in them, waiting only for the analyst's attention.

The following pages attempt to work out the main forms of Pukapukan culture, to hint at certain time sequences, and to indicate a few geographical

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121 128 affinities with other Polynesian systems. This provides the objective background for studying the meaning of these patterns for the personalities of those who live within the frame of reference called Pukapukan society. This task is touched upon in the data on children (2). If certain problems of symbolism, pattern status, emotional conditioning, and all that makes up the dynamics of culture have been largely overlooked in these pages, it is not through unawareness of the existence and importance of these problems but solely because the type of field work represented by this and other manuscripts is that which it was most practicable to carry to a conclusion.

NOTE ON PHONETIC STRUCTURE

194 [128] Throughout this monograph Pukapukan words are written in the ordinary English alphabet, in accordance with standard usage for Polynesian ethnolology. Obviously such recording represents only an approximate rendering of the true sounds and words of the language.

The symbols *k*, *p*, and *t* represent the intermediates between sonant *g* and surd *k*, between *b* and *p*, and between *d* and *t* respectively; *k* is pre-palatal before the vowels *e* and *i*, post-palatal before *a*, *o*, and *u*—it is never aspirated; *p* is aspirated only before the vowel *u*; *t* is always dental and unaspirated.

The lateral, *l*, is dental. The nasals are *m*, a dental *n*, and the front palatal *eng* (*ng*). The semivowel *w* functions as a major consonant; when it occurs within a word before *u* or *i* (as in the words *mawu*, *awi*) it has a guttural quality.

Finally, there are the bilabial spirant *v*, voiceless and unaspirated, and the voiceless interdental spirant, not previously recorded for a Polynesian dialect. This spirant (corresponding to the *th* in English "thin") is invariably palatalized, followed by a *y* slur ("thin" with a *y* inserted before the *i*, "thyin"). This compound sound (*θʲ* in certain phonetic systems) is rendered by the symbol *y* in this monograph, but is not to be confused with the ordinary *y* semivowel which does not occur as a Pukapukan consonant. The Pukapukan voiceless interdental spirant palatalized is the sound mistakenly described by Macgregor (20, p. 3) as a glottal closure accompanied by "an added breath . . . giving a sound of *i* consonant," and written by him *'i*.

The glottal closure as an independent consonant is absent. The consonants are never long.

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* all have the continental values. In rapid speech, however, a short *a* is pronounced as *u* in English "but"; short *i*, especially before *ng*, as *i* in English "pin". Final *i* after *t* tends to be voiceless.

Quantity and quality of vowels, presence or absence of diphthongs, and the location of stress are not indicated in native words. These phonetic characteristics are reserved for treatment in a Pukapukan dictionary which will include also the general rules of pronunciation governing accent.

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The following information on stars was obtained from a number of informants. Robert Dean Frisbie assisted in the identification of the star names and also prepared a chart of the Pukapukan heavens from which the accompanying chart (fig. 55) has been adapted.

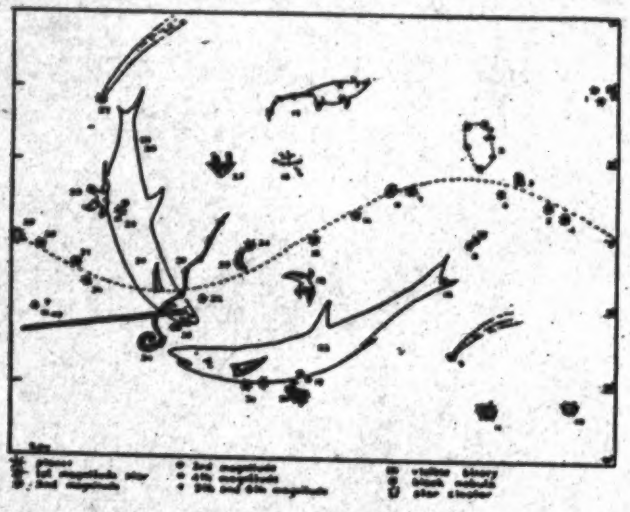

FIGURE 55.—Chart of Pukapukan heavens: 1, Na Taki-tu-tolu-o-Mataliki α, β, γ Cassiopeiae); 2, Te Wale-o-Tutakiolo (α, β, θ, ι Aurigae, β Tauri); 3, Mataliki (the Pleiades); 4, Takupe-tea (Venus); 5, Tulalupe (Jupiter); 6, Mata-kula (Aldebaran); 7, Mata-kula (Mars); 8, Te Tolunga-Mani (δ, $\epsilon\zeta$ Orionis); 9, Mata-lele (shooting star); 10, Mau-ochelau (Lesser Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 11, Mau-tonga (Greater Magellanic Cloud, position approximate); 12, Tapeo (Sirius); 13, Pa-ngalongalo-a-Kiliwelo (Praesepe cluster); 14, Mata-tea (Saturn); 15, Tokiva (Jupiter); 16, Te Yiku-o-te-kiole (Coma Berenices); 17, Te Yiku-o-te-kiole (Ursa Major, second identification); 18, Te Mano (Corvus); 19, Na Mata-o-te-paniwi (Crux); 20, Te Paniwi-o-Tarua ("The Coal Sack"); 21, Na Mata-o-te-tokalua, Wua-ua-Velo (α and β Centauri, includes also other stars of same declination); 22, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 23, Te Maina (the Moon); 24, Te Mata-yua-ki-te-maina (companion star to the moon); 25, Te Wale-o-Awitu (Corona Borealis); 26, Na Pongaponga-iyu-o-te-kiole (ε and ζ Lyrae); 27, Mata-wai-kave (comet); 28, Te Tokoa (Delphinus); 29, Tolu (α, β, γ Aquilae); 30, Te Mango (the Milky Way); 31, Te Tao-o-Mani (black nebula near Scorpio); 32, Melemele (Antares); 33, Lua-tama-loloi (λ, υ Scorpionis); 34, Te Kau-o-Mani (star cluster in Sagittarius); 35, Te Wao-a-Mani (θ, η, ζ, ϵ, δ Ophiuchi and α Serpentis); 36, Takupe-tea (Venus); 37, Tapeo (Jupiter); 38, Te Mata-yua-ki-te-la (Mercury); 39, La (Sun); 40, Taki-piki-tolu (Piscis Australis). Dotted line represents sun's ecliptic.

Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the com-
533 posing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa! " expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the pinga type: Na ulu toku manako and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the pinga mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowels is u; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix waka	becomes	aka	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tu	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

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121 most fruitfully studied, the kinds of situations, observations of which would lead to the most valuable data, the type of training most desirable for those studying primitive children, an evaluation of case-study possibilities in primitive cultures, and a final emphasis on the importance of long-continued study of selected children over a period of years.[1] This last conclusion we take to be fundamental. One assumption of our *Notes and Queries* was that by studying children of different age levels problems incidental to a time series might at least be overcome. But the time series itself appears to be of spectacular importance if we wish thoroughly to understand personality development and socialization processes. By observation of children for a few weeks at a time, even by repeating such observation periods at regular or irregular intervals, it is possible to compile a formidable set of data relative to sex life, play, relations to other children and adults, and so on. But the question of interpretation still remains. How are these data to be interpreted as bearing upon the production of certain personality types or upon the theory and practise of child development? Only, we assume, by studying selected children over measurable time periods. In terms of theory, analytic or otherwise, it may be possible to infer that certain strains, inhibitions, repressions should result from the conditioning processes that a culture approves. The next step in method must always be to see if such strains and blockages do occur. And unless the same individual is studied over a long period of time, how can one be sure what happens and what the processes at work really consist in? We believe "retroactive" case histories that work backwards from the present are of great value. But of greater value still would be forward-working case histories that took the infant from birth, several particular infants in fact, and studied them with a day to day care, as they interacted with their personal and cultural environment. This would be a difficult task even for the most heroically conscientious and psychologically sophisticated anthropologist. But until it is done we will always be guessing at the key which solves the problem—guessing with some probability doubtless but never being sure the key has been found. The first five years of life are generally considered of importance in our own society for establishing the main personality reactive patterns in the child. A five year case history of a primitive child, starting from the first hour of life or before, would give the key that would open many of the doors that at present lock away the inner processes of personality socialization.

114 Turning now more specifically to the interpertation of field data, one point among many
128 may be emphasized. A survey of recent psychoanalytic and anthropological literature suggests some conflict of opinion over the relative importance of cultural factors in stabilizing personality patterns. Admittedly everything turns upon the question of what is psychologically given. If the hypothetical raw stuff of human nature is essentially plastic, easily to be molded this way or that, then culturalization must play an overwhelming part in personality development. Even should the individual be born with a basic personality type,

[1] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Polynesian Anthropology Today* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 213–21, 1937), p. 220. Kluckhohn has also commented on this point among others in his paper: *Theoretical Basis for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals* (Man, Vol. 39, No. 89, July 1939).

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nevertheless so long as this type is not polar, much importance must be attached to cultural factors in defining the success with which the basic psychological personality adjusts itself to the status personality.[9] If on the other hand, as psychoanalytic theory appears to hold, the psychological nature of man is everywhere the same—that is if the infant in Siberia or in Africa or Polynesia is heir to emotional and sexual drives (libido) that must find outlet on object or self according to predetermined developmental stages—then it would seem that cultural factors can do little but accentuate here or play down there. The psychoanalytic contention that the nuclear complex is of universal occurrence is perhaps a case in point.[10] Psychoanalytic theory in this matter is still in a formative stage and doubtless it may be possible to adduce evidence in conflict with the preceding statement. Roheim, for instance, in his analysis of Australian materials, concludes that the Australian aborigine is predominantly of the oral character type,[11] a personality development that can be due to conditioning and to this only.

On the other hand Dr Susan Isaacs[12] inclines rather strongly to the opinion that cultural factors are of slighter importance than libidinal drives. She would expect to find in Pukapuka, personality types similar to those found in our own society. It would seem in support of this view, as careful study of all our records indicate, that Pukapukan children engage in behavior activities in frames of reference that are analogous to, or even identical with common behavior activities of American children. There are alternations of love and hate, object sucking, nipple biting, plays with sand and water, "cosy places" plays, genital manipulation, "family plays"—to name but a few. In this sense, and generalizing broadly, the major difference in the socialization process between Pukapukan and American children lies in the

[9] See for instance Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), especially Chapters 8 and 26, and Plant, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–20.

[10] Compare Ernest Jones, *Mother Right and the Sexual Ignorance of Savages* (International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 6, pp. 109–30, 1925) with Malinowski's analysis in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London and New York, 1927), *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff. Benedict, also, believes that an Œdipus complex is quite impossible among the Zuñi. See her *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934), p. 101.

It may be noted that since our article was completed (November, 1939) M. F. Ashley Montagu has summarized the relevant cultural material bearing on the Œdipus complex in his paper *Nescience, Science and Psychoanalysis* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 49–60, 1941, see pp. 48–49). Reference may also be made to Margaret Mead's recent *survey of comparative work on character structure*: Cultural Change and Social Sovereignties (Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 14, pp. 30–109, 1940). The relative importance of biological drives as compared with cultural factors in determining character structure and personality development has also become a matter of active recent discussion. See in this connection Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* (Psychiatry, Vol. 3, pp. 1–117, 1940), Ernest Beaglehole, *Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 61–73, 1941), A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), and finally, the more orthodox point of view and the references given in Ernest Levy's article, *The Nature of the Repression* (Bulletin, Menninger Clinic, Vol. 5, pp. 47–55, 1941).

[11] G. Roheim, *The Study of Character Development and the Ontogenetic Theory of Culture* (in *Essays Presented to G. C. Seligman*, London, 1934, pp. 281–92). Horney gives a good summary of the present position in her *Neurotic Personality of our Time* (New York, 1937), pp. 16–20.

[12] From personal communication.

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fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culturalization-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilization of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Pukapukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressiveness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other patterns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1935), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 259, 307–09, appendix 2, pp. 458–62.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutionalized outlet have been briefly characterized: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 319–28, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344–53, 1939.